Colonization and Commerce.

AN ADDRESS Before the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati, Ohio, Nov. 29, 1859.

BY FRANK P. BLAIR, JUN., OF MISSOURI. The city which has led the march of civiliza tion in the Great West, whose power and splendor-the growth of little more than one generation—rivals the matured glories which ages have out have returned with fortunes realized. This exodus to the land of gold has redounded to the realth and greatness of the Republic because enterprise intended to impart to the whole continent the principles upon which her own prosperity rests. The first-born of the ordinance of temployed; and because it was five times more themselves, and the natives of the country under the impart to the whole continent the principles upon which her own prosperity rests. The first-born of the ordinance of employed; and because it was five times more abundantly and cheaply than can be done in 1787, she will be recreant to her own origin if remunerative there than here, the manifold inshe shall fail to claim universal empire for the | terest of the whole country prospered by the That magna charta, conceived by the mind and heart of Mr. Jefferson, to secure you in the rights than half a million. If similar inducements were which he proclaimed to belong to all, in the immortal declaration which asserted our liberties, has opened to you a boundless career of one. has opened to you a boundless career of opu- labor would be more productive? It may be said

truths, and with the form and spirit of the Gov-ernment framed upon them. It is well known motives which impelled our people in such numthat not only Jefferson, but all the great men of that day, sought by every means to eradicate this evil. The plan by which Jefferson desired which, I may venture to say, will, animate our to give practical and universal effect to the true principles of our Government, and root out that element of evil which would fatally affect the for one in which they can have no superiors, and whole, is contained in the following brief and one in which their wildest dreams of wealth can pregnant sentences. In a letter to Mr. Sparks, be realized with the least possible toil.

Speaking of a proposition similar in many respects, ucged by him upon the Legislature of his native State, he says:

native State, he says:

"It has, however, been found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it even at this day; yet the day is not far distant when it must bear it and adopt it, or wome will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the beak of fars, thun that these people (the negroes) are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, tanned live at the same Government. Nature, habit, optimin, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them.

In a letter to Mr. Coles, he said:

with every element of evil to be found within the to increase, extend, and perpetuate it, and we exhalations are pregnant, the black man, by virare told, even by those men who deplore these tue of that mysterious quality of organism conmeasures must be taken, by which the people of and the torrid glare an elixir for bedy and mind. the slave States can relieve themselves of it, or His very pores, like those of a plant, seem to abcreased ten fold, mounting up from half a milion to near five millions; an increase in the of the Epicurean gods. In such a region, his make their number fifty millions. The country What I propose is no measure of rashness or inconsiderate haste, but the deliberate and macious of all our statesmen. It is simply to proride an asylum, in the congenial regions of the States or individuals, and who may choose by securing them self-government, free homeprotection against foreign or domes-

that contact which deteriorates our own; nor is groes shall be invited to go, and take up free friends of the free white laborers object to vo races cannot occupy the same States withthat they will merge into a mongrel race, inferior to either of the original types. This is one of from the unnatural juxtaposition or rather comis a race of hybrids, and blot the beauty of that and dusky cloud obscures the sun, and shuts out ing by its inevitable tendency to corrupt the I believe that the condition of affairs upon or

ican tropics by the Spaniards are fast falling. they have not slready fallen, to decay, and the colored races are resuming sway in that climate so congenial to their natures. The attempt made by the Spaniards—a people long acclimated to tropical temperatures—to occupy these regions, has resulted in the obliteration of their chief characteristics, and the destruction of the race empire which we cannot dispute, so long as the We may mould that empire to usefulness, to ad-

WASHINGTON, D. C. In any event, we must make up our minds to behold this grant meridional empire, like

themoth, biggest horn of earth, Upheave its vastness." • To make this ours, it appears to me that we have only to extend ourselves, our civilization and form of government, into the tropics, by means of the black men now among us, and, through them, impress ourselves upon the present population, thus excluding any other power. Is it possible to do so? Ten years have sufficed to plant half a million of our free white people in California. They went thither without aid or protection from the Government, because they could there acquire fortune more rapidly than in wealth and greatness of the Republic, because we did not lose the labor of citizens, but only terest of the whole country prospered by the the Southern States with slave labor. The comlence and glory; and I come with confidence to invoke your aid for the plan by which he sought to give to all the same noble inheritance which When the great declaration of our rights was of our heroic and indomitable race. But neither the distance nor the dangers attending a voyage on anomalous and inconsistent with its great to the tropics are as great as those which barred provement as will enable them to establish and proclaimed, there existed amongst us an institu- the distance nor the dangers attending a voyage

The tropical regions of America are the richest in the whole world. This is due to the pecoming home to our physical and moral characters, to our happiness and sastly, is to provide an asylum, to which we can, by degrees, send the whole of that population (the nearly from among as, and establish them under our patnent, and the prevalence of the northeastern and southeastern trade winds, which come sweeping across a vast expanse of ocean, surcharged with moisture; and striking at right angles upon the coast, they penetrate deep into the interior, where the moisture is precipitated by the cold atmosphere of the mountains, forming the largest rivers in the world, which traverse the entire country, imparting to it the most extraordinary fertility, and giving unquestionable guaranty of For civilization, be it observed, is of amphibious birth. It has ever arisen on the sea shore, on the and half from the land. The Ganges, the Nile, and the great cities which stood, as it were, knee-deep, or still stand, in the waters of the Mediterranean, vouch for this. A river country, sooner or later, becomes the seat of opulence and by the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march pre-eminent title to that appellation. Even here in the banks of the "beautiful river," I am construction, excited and conducted by the power of our strained to declare that the Amazon, the La Plancit, except, if once stationed to recommend the Original Amazon, the La Plancit converges stationed to recommend the Original Amazon, the La Plancit converges the property of the control of the original transfer or the o ta, and the Orinoco, together with their tributaoffering asylum and arms to the oppressed, is a ries, are unrivalled on either continent; nor are The time has come to begin the movement for less diversity of gorgeous scenes, such boundless emancipation, to be accomplished by "the generous energies of our own minds," rather than their valleys disclose. In the whole tropical rethrough that other process, the contemplation of which fills us with horror and alarm. Every one unending round of vernal promise and ripennation that has embraced Slavery has perished ing harvests. There, the opening blossom and under the intolerable burden-perished either by the matured fruit mingle on the same stem, which violence or the poison with which it taints and is released from its burden and converted into a corrects society. Already the virus has pene- cornucopia by every passing breeze. The same trated, and is spreading through the veins of this gentle swaying that whitens the ground with the nation; and unless speedy relief is found, we shall be fatally intected. It is admitted by all to be the cause of the deep and bitter feud which its year," and the omnipresent summers, or, threatens to rend us into sections, and destroy rather, the three seasons in their indivisible the Confederacy; and yet no remedy is proposed, union, have no interregnum in their rule, and no solution hinted at, except to let it alone, to grow and fester and corrode. It is the cause of bringing forth her choicest productions. There nost of the ill-will between us and neighboring | the task of agriculture will be, not to stimulate, nations. It is tainting the morals and corrupt- but to repress and tame the powers of the soil. ing the blood of our race. It has devastated the | There, the household, however numerous, will and impoverished the mass of the people not be adequate to gather what the solitary huswhere it exists. It has banished education be- bandman shall sow. Hours of labor will puryoud the reach of the poor, and eradicated from | chase weeks of luxurious ease. Skies and earth, the hearts of many all respect and love for free institutions. Its demoralizing influence has the paradise of the negro. While the white man

the moist and warm earth affect his health as

nature is in harmony with all the elements which

little as the odor of hecatombs did the disposition

ant animal life, presenting a striking contrast to uberance of its native joy, and his soul laughs back to the laughing landscapes, which, like shall say that the same congenial influences would not aid in evolving the latent capacities of his intellectual nature-a nature which has never yet had an opportunity for self-develop we know that a universal harmony subsists be

that the coasts only of the tropical regions of tertropical regions of America and those of the remarkable difference is, that in the Asiatic and African tropics there is a dry and wet season, for by the fact that the winds do not prevail case in America within the torrid zone. . This wet and dry season, which alternates in Asia what has heretofore rendered it impossible to cultivate cotton in those regions. Many years since, I read a statement made by a Mississippi turers, and make them independent of America ly selected on account of his intelligence and practical experience. So momentous and imincompetent or unfaithful hands, by such wise and able men as the British rulers have proved that they presented the very strongest motives ould give her a supply of cotton in India? But failed; and the reason for the failure, given by the gentleman of whom I have spoken, was the prevalence of wet and dry seasons—a season of floods and a season of drought, each occupying the long continuance of rainy weather destroyed found that the drought was as disastrous as the long-continued rain; and so, after all, his pastill rears his throne on this side of the Atlan cheaper than in any of the States of this Union. The same is true, in a still greater degree, of the

other border slave States, were on the eve of emancipation. Everybody will tell you this, and some will say that these States would long since have emancipated their slaves but for the meddling impertinence of the abolitionists. theless, it is not the whole truth. The fact is and power, or it may arise under the same malign star which hailed the birth of negro domination in St. Domingo, destroying the white race; or else, under the protection of some other power, it may serve to curb our career, and this multiplied the money value of negroes is unspeakably same theless, it is not the whole truth. The fact is, that a very great rise took place in the price of same cortainty that brings a falling edifice to the ground. What would our Government give for such a foothold upon that thoroughfare of native, and brings deliverance and one universal ruln in the condition of the negroes is unspeakably matter, and brings deliverance and one universal ruln in the condition of the negroes is unspeakably that a very great rise took place in the price of cotton about that time, and has been maintained ground. What would our Government give for such a foothold upon that thoroughfare of native, and brings deliverance and one universal ruln in the condition of the negroes is unspeakably matter, and that morally and brings a falling edifice to the ground. What would our Government give for such a foothold upon that thoroughfare of native, and brings deliverance and one universal ruln in the condition of the negroes is unspeakably matter, and that morally and brings a falling edifice to the ground. What would our Government give for such a foothold upon that thoroughfare of native, and brings deliverance and one universal ruln in the condition of the negroes is unspeakably matter, and that morally and brings a falling edifice to the same that morally and brings a falling edifice to the same that morally and the morally and th

mmerce which has enriched all the nations which have possessed and enjoyed it, building ancient times, it took its laborious course, and creating Empires and States into whose lap it was poured, to decay and disappear from among nations with its loss. This vast commerce, which has founded empires, was itself created by the productive power of the colored races of Asianone of which are capable of enduring the fervors of the torrid zone as well as the negro, none of which possesses greater capacity for improvement, or more patient industry, than the people of that race—and the country from which, for so many ages, this almost miraculous stream of wealth has flowed, cannot be compared with the intertropical regions of America for fertility of soil and mineral resources. I have already adverted to some of the reasons which give a deided superiority to the tropics of this continent, and which make it absolutely certain that they are destined to supply the world with cotton and sugar. Here, also, are produced the finest qualities of tobacco, and the best and most oundant supplies of coffee, all the precious dye stuffs, medicinal plants, and the tropical fruits. It is, moreover, the richest region of the world in gold, and silver, and precious stones. This immense reservoir of wealth, whose commerce will one day make the marvellous riches of the Orient seem insigificant by comparison, lies adjacent to our ports, almost within reach of our outstretched arm, accessible to our fleets by a few days sail by mighty rivers, navigable for thousands of lles by sea-going vessels. Europe can only voyaging half around the world; which, with steam vessels even, is an affair of months. A few days steaming is all that is necessary to reach our India from any of our great seaports. The Mississippi river pours itself out into the very lap of the tropics, and the great Gulf stream, gathering there its volume, pours its floods along our Atlantic seaboard, as if nature had provided these two great currents, flowing south and north, to be the arteries of our interchanging

The torrid zone contains more cultivable land han all the rest of the earth put together, and the most productive with the least labor. On his continent, its resources may be said to be intoucked, for the small part of it which has been subjected to cultivation is insignificant indeed, when compared with the vast tracts of its untained wilderness. All that is required to de-velop its untold wealth is, a race of men capaand requires constant recruiting from the temthoroughly demoralized, and incapable of mainby the negro race, and it is by that race alohe that those regions are to be regenerated, and United States, there are five millions of negroes, who have received, under our immediate tuition, ergment, religion, and all the arts of civilized which makes them superior, as a people, to nial Secretary under the Administration of ord John Russell, in speaking of a plan to proote the immigration of the free negroes from United States into the British West India bears this emphatic testimony in their

urches, civilized by our firesides, and educated in government by hearing our political discussions, through whom I would extend our laws. commerce, requiting us a thousand fold for every their enslavement by giving the enfranchised bondmen free homesteads and free government; removing from our midst the prolific cause of tterness between brethren; brushing away an institution whose malign influencé brings desolation wherever it is found, and avenges the wrong done to the subject race by the evil it in-

flicts upon the wrong doer. I invoke the example of the pioneer nation is olonization, Great Britain. She has created an ome, by her colonial system, imparting to her pendencies her own free institutions, and mafrom a sense of mutual advantage, and the attraction of a common power and glory. It is this commerce, its life-giving currents imparting

potisms of Europe.

What has been her policy in relation to the negroes under her control in the West Indies, and what the result of that policy? She has liberated and instructed them, and has propaga-ted her power and influence, through their innost of the commerce of those regions, and to sway the counsels of all the surrounding nations; whilst we, to whom the people of Spanish America once looked with confidence, and who formed their Governments upon the model of our Republic, yielding to us the largest share of their trade, and guiding themselves by our counsel. and detestation, because the policy of our Govto which they mostly belong, and to extend that have recently given us the news of a most important acquisition of territory in Central Amera, made by the British empire through the ipstrumentality of her Jamaica negroes—a territory as large as one of our second-class States, rich from its position, commanding the routes across the Isthmus, and fixing British supremacy in Central America. I allude, of course, to the cesion of the Belize, or British Honduras, by Guatemals, to Great Britain—a cession completed with-in the last few months by a solemn treaty, sistance of Guatemala by the obstinate courage and superior vigor of a few thousand Jamsica negroes. They were planted there by Great Britalthough they have never numbered more than twelve or fourteen thousand, they have main-

alarm, very justly apprehending that they would be re-enslaved if that system again took root; and they united to expel Walker, whom they had finding that his millions of serfs could not defend so recently invited among them. It is by such his empire against a few thousand men animated acts that we have brought home to these people by the ardor of freedom, has led the way for us the knowledge of our intention to enslave them. in this reform, and not only has given his serfs The British have studiously and ostentatiously rally turn to Europe rather than America. It is curious enough that the Liberal or Democratic party of most of the Spanish-American States is in this country. They are not very profound in their political philosophy, and have not discov-ered that Slavery is the foundation of Liberty, and hence they are averse to the schemes of their fellow Democrats in the United States, to regenerate them by reducing them to Slavery. morning, which ushers a bright and glorious day.

sense to see that it is the only thing which can save them from the humiliation of defeat by forposed of the mixed bloods and colored races. It is what would be called the free-negro party eign foes, or the sure, if long delayed, resentment of those whom they have despoiled of their manhood, without depriving them of the strength which enables them to destroy. They are like the senseless oligarchy of our Southern States, who weaken their country by filling it with a degraded race, and who, in trampling down freethem hold fast to that faith, and the world is not dom, have obliterated from the hearts of their without hope for them yet. It is the fair star of bondmen the principle which humanizes the heart, leaving the brutal vigor and the quench-It is the fashion in some quarters to deride all attempts to improve the condition of the negro race, and thus justify the cupidity which enslaves them by proclaiming them unfit for every higher Out No examples are oftener cited to uphold this theory than the condition of Cuba and Hayti. I am content to stand or fall by these often sunk under the steel of the assassin, when examples. I find in a work published under the their policy conflicted with that of the selfish authority of Congress, upon the subject of our commercial relations, (vol. 1, p. 570,) the followmon weapon in the hands of the cunning and ing remarkable statement: cowardice which forever preside over the counalike felt its edge, and hearts that throbbed for

"Among the countries with which the United States have commercial intercourse, Hayti holds the ninth rank as respects tomage. All the States are more or less interested in the Haytien trade. The Northeastern States find a market there for their fish and other merchandise. Pennsylyania, Northern Virginia, Marykand, Ohio, Indians, Illinois, and Missouri, for their salted pork; Vermont, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Ohio, for their salted beef; Philadelphia and Boston, North and South Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky, for their household furniture, their rice and tobacco. The manufacturers of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, have already secured an extensive market in Hayti for their cheap cotton textures, and successfully compete with European manufacturers. The official returns of the United States show that Mexico, with a population of 8,000,000, imported from the different ports of the United States with the latter country is therefore more profitable than with Mexico. Indeed, American vessels generally return in ballast from Mexican ports, or go to other States in search of freight, while in Hayti they always find cargoes. * * In 1881, the United States exported to Hayti cotton goods valued at \$206,000, while the value of similar goods exported to Cubareach only \$20,000. The soap exported from the United States to the former country (Hayti) excessed 1,928,682 pounds, to the latter (Cuba) only 289,748. Hayti received from the United States in 1851 eight times as much flour as Cuba, and six times as much salted pork." "Among the countries with which the United States hav

that the United States have never had a com-mercial or any other kind of treaty to encourage "nature, habit, and opinion," had engrafted an the most conclusive manner the idle storles of the wretchedness, poverty, and squalor, of the physical and moral characters," "our happiness Haytiens. Whence comes their ability to mainofficial returns of our commercial intercourse stamp with unerring certainty the fallacy of the gists of Slavery.

In like manner we have had it dinned into on emancipation. The facts of the case, taken from theory, prove precisely the reverse. It is beyond those islands was mortgaged for what it was South are animated by the highest and purest the act of emancipation; that in 1830, a few years prior to emancipation, petitions were pre- slave is denied every aspiration in this world and earnestly soliciting relief; that the producten years ending with 1830, was 201,843 with 1820. At this period the sugar planters of the British West Indies enjoyed a monopoly of the British markets, the sugars of the British of an independent yeomanry, puts education colonies of India and Singapore not even being within their reach, and makes improvement posallowed to compete. This monopoly and the high price of sugar stimulated the production to such a degree that the slaves were actually South Carolina oligarchy, gives of the mass of worked to death; and whilst the free negroes were steadily increasing, the slaves were dying off at a rate which was described at the time as appalling." In eleven out of eighteen of these islands (by a statement in the Edinburgh Review for April, 1849) the slaves decreased "in twelve years no less than 60,219, namely, from 558,194 to 497,975." Then came emancipation, and in in which he lives, from Senator Clay, of Als 54,076 in the number of negroes of but ten colonies. There is no possible doubt about these facts, taken as they are from the population returns made to Parliament, for they are corroborated by Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, one of the strongest advocates for what he delicately denominates "compulsory labor." He declares where the average life of a slave is seven years, and nothing prevents the extinction of Slavery in that island by the extinction of the slaves, (working them to death,) except the African slave trade, through which their numbers are kept up. The same cause has ruined the Dutch colony of Surinam, where Slavery was allowed to flourish, until "out of 917 plantations, 636 have been totally abandoned," and the remainder are on the road to destruction. No better proof of the ruinous tendency of this institution need be sought, however, than a comparison between the free-labor and slave States of this Union. Not only were the British West Indies made bankrupt by Slovery, with sugar at high prices, and a close monopoly of the British home market, but, even after emancipation took place, they were by act of 1846 deprived of this monopoly, and the British market thrown open to the sugars of Brazil and Cuba and the whole world.

This made their ruin complete. Our Louisiana sugar planters tell us every day, that if the duty of thirty per cent. is taken off of sugar, and our ports are thrown open to the competition of Cuba By the admissions of the planters themselves, the people of the United States pay \$12,000,000 annually, to protect 15,003 Louisiana sugar plant-ers, and save them from bankruptcy. But after a while, the freedom which Great Britain gave to her slaves worked off the deadly effects of Slavery, and nobly breasted the competition of the slave labor of Cuba and Brazil, where negroes

continued to be worked to death, the void being filled up from Africa, and prosperity has again dawned upon these fair islands. "In the last two years of Slavery, 1832-33, (says the official returns,) these islands exported 8,471,744 cwt. In the two years 1857-58 they exported to Great Britain alone 8,736,654 cwt., and besides that a large trade, altogether new, has surung up with Australia and the United States, and other countries of which

articles for their own comfort or greater profit. islands are most emphatic in declaring that their prosperity is reviving, and that the improvement lign star which hailed the birth of negro dominate and one universal rum in the star which hailed the birth of negro domination in St. Domingo, descroying the white time, and has been maintained passed in the protection of some control of the star power, it may serve to cush our predominance on this continent, or at least bring rain along the shores of the Gulf.

E. E. WHITE, & Co.,

The work is electrotyped, and will be issued in the price of the protection of some same certainty that brings a falling edifice to the passed in the price of take, and that morally and intellectually they are advancing. I put this clear and unequivocation of some severance and one universal rum in the same power. I say, let us open up the tropics to our free blacks, and that morally and intellectually they are advancing. I put this clear and unequivocation of some severance and one universal rum in the same power. I say, let us open up the tropics to our free blacks, and one started the standard of the best of the same of the same

policy of emancipation to go down to a discount, to be computed by applying the rule of the inverse ratio. Such, also is the feating people have been beguilting this credit people have been beguilting this credit people have been beguilting this credit people have been been beguilting this credit people have been beguilt to credit people have been been beguilting this credit people have been beguilting this credit people have been been b

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liberty, but forced his reluctant nobles to give

less passions, which will one day bring swift de-

struction on all, unless a wise policy shall pre-

Our task is not more difficult than that of the

young Alexander. Shall we approve ourselves

ess courageous than he? His ancestors bave

nobility; indeed, the assassin's steel is a com-

sels of an oligarchy. Kings and commoners have

red drops of life the palace walls, the Senate's

that loves liberty? The hope of Russia may be

swept away, for it lives only with one life; but

here, its votaries are like the unnumbered leaves

I have spoken of this plan of colonizing our

slaves as a means of enabling them to attain a

higher position and greater comfort and happi-ness; but this is not the only object, or even the

chief one, to be attained by this grand move-

ment. Mr. Jefferson did not so regard it. He

was not unmindful of the interests of this de-

pendent race, and was animated in all he said

and did by a sincere desire for their elevation

and improvement. He recognised their claim to

the rights of manhood, and desired to place them

in a position where, the legal status of freemen

separation of the races for the sake of the negro.

but still more for the sake of his own race. "Our

and safety," to use his own impressive words,

follow;" if not accomplished "by the generous

brought about by the bloody process of St. Do-

mingo." He knew full well that the chief evils

tain point, it is undeniable that the slaves in this

cultivated and enlightened race. Who does not

know that the negroes in the United States are

their native jungles, and who does not know that

the interest of the master alone, if no higher mo-

tive, insures, in the main, gentle and humane

treatment to the slave? Men generally do not destroy their property by bad treatment; and, apart from this, the mass of slave owners at the

motives in their kindness to their dependents.

that soars beyond the wants of his physical na-

ture-this is its condemnation-but the institu-

of our own race. To them it denies bread even

sible. Let me read you the sickening descrip

non-slaveholders of his own State. He says:

Hear, also, this vivid sketch of the fatal influ-

ence of this system upon the State and county

where the pressure of Slavery falls the heaviest. It is upon the non-slaveholding masses, men born with no inheritance except their right to

labor with their naked hands, and despoiled of their right by the existence of an institution

which makes labor disreputable-makes per-

manent employment impossible, places education beyond their reach, and reduces them to the

necessity of eking out existence on poor land

rented of some rich slaveholder, of which the

rent consumes all but the merest necessaries o

life. There is something in the very nature of Slavery which limits the demand for labor to

the supply which it affords. It is averse to the

creation of large cities, which multiply and di-versify employments. It favors that kind of agri-

whose rude labors do not require skill. A large city has wants unknown to the habits of coun-

hand worked by a willing mind is required to supply these wants; hence cities only grow where labor is free, and they have always been the nurseries of civil liberty. The tilled

for it closes upon them the door by which this

country are improved by a mild subjection to a

of Slavery do not fall on the slave; up to a cer-

This Convention of Delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of reverse. The mass of the people being negroes and mestizos, and afraid of being made the subjects of Slavery, have learned to detest this Government, whilst the few remaining families of pure Spanish blood are Monarchists, and naturally turn to Europe rather than America. It is concerned to the full stature of men whom the law can no longer enslave, nor want reduce to subserviency. Wise and gracious Prince, he has built the policy of the present Administration; to his throne in the hearts of grateful millions, a fortress more impregnable than Sebastopol. The the United States, without regard to past politi fortress more impregnable than Sebastopol. The favor of the admission of Kansas as a free nobility still resist the execution of this great State; of restoring the action of the Federal measure of inspired wisdom. They have not the sense to see that it is the only thing which can and Jefferson; and for the parpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, do 1. Resolve, That the maintenance of the prin ciples promulgated in the Declaration of In-dependence, and embodied in the Federal Con-

> our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, shall be preserved. 2. Resolved, That, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the unalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure those rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our National Territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitutio against all attempts to violate it, to prevent the the oppressed have been known to stain with the establishment of Slavery in the Territories of the United States by positive legislation profloor, and the dusty plain, of distant lands; but hibiting its existence therein. And we deny who can find daggers for every heart in this land the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legis-

> > viduals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained. 3. Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Terri tories of the United States for their govern ment, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in its Territories those twin relics of

lature, of any individual or association of indi-

barbarism, Polygamy and Slavery.

4. Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property, of every citizen, the dearsas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; Their Territory has been invaded by an

armed force; Spurious and pretended Legislative, Judicia and Executive officers have been set over them by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced;

The rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; Test oaths of an extraordinary and entan gling nature have been imposed, as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding The right of an accused person to a speedy

and public trial by an impartial jury has been The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been

They have been deprived of life, liberty, and property, without due process of law; That the freedom of speech and of the pres

has been abridged; The right to choose their Representatives has been made of no effect; Murders, robberies, and arsons, have been i stigated and encouraged, and the offenders

have been allowed to go unpunished; That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present Administration, and that for this crime against the Constitution, the Union, and Humanity, we arraign that Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories either befor the facts, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious out-

rages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.
5. Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present Free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil

strife now raging in her Territory.

6. Resolved, That the highwayman's that " might makes right," embodied in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that gave it their sanction.
7. Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific

Ocean, by the most central and practical route,

the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad. 8. Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, modation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

9. Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, how-ever differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and, believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country guaranties

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